

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 TEHRAN 07403 200836Z  
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W  
-----116149 200837Z /12  
O 191358Z AUG 77  
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4142

S E C R E T TEHRAN 7403

NODIS  
CHEROKEE

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT PARA 4 TO END OF MESSAGE)

FOR SECRETARY FROM SULLIVAN

E.O.11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: MASS, IS, IR  
SUBJ: ISRAELI - IRAN CO-PRODUCTION

REF: TEHRAN 7401

1. FOLLOWING UP LAST NIGHTS CONVERSATION ON IRAN-ISRAEL CO-  
PRODUCTION, GENERAL TOUFANIAN ASKED ME TO HIS HOUSE AFTERNOON  
AUGUST 19. HE SAID HE HAD REPORTED OUR CONVERSATION TO SHAH THIS  
MORNING, PRIOR SHAH'S AUDIENCE WITH DAYAN.

2. AFTER AUDIENCE, SHAH TOLD TOUFANIAN THAT DAYAN CLAIMED YOU  
HAD "BLESSED" ENTIRE TRANSACTION AND THAT HE PERSONALLY HAD TOLD  
YOU THAT SYSTEM INVOLVED WOULD BE SURFACE-TO-SURFACE MISSILE OF  
300 MILE RANGE. HE CLAIMED YOU OFFERED NO OBJECTION.

3. HOWEVER, IN ORDER TO MEET AMERICAN "PROBLEMS" DAYAN AND HIS  
WEAPONS EXPERT, DR. ZUSSMAN, WERE PREPARED TO REPLACE THE ELEMENTS  
OF U.S. ORIGIN WITH PRODUCTS FROM OTHER SOURCES. (THEY ALLEGE  
THEY HAVE AN INERTIAL GUIDANCE SYSTEM OF FRENCH DESIGN TO REPLACE

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THE U.S. GYROSCOPE) ZUSSMAN SAID HE COULD ASSURE IRAN OF A WEAPON  
"WITHOUT A SINGLE SCREW IMPORTED FROM OR LICENSED BY U.S."

4. TOUFANIAN SAID THAT, EVEN IF NO RPT NO U.S. COMPONENTS OR  
TECHNOLOGY INVOLVED, SHAH WANTED NIHIL OBSTAT FROM U.S. HE WAS  
DISTURBED BY APPARENT DISPARITY BETWEEN U.S. AND ISRAELI REPORTS  
OF YOUR CONVERSATION WITH DAYAN. HE DID NOT WANT TO AGREE TO

SOMETHING WITH ISRAEL AND HAVE U.S. RAISE OBJECTIONS LATER.

5. I REPEATED TO TOUFANIAN THE GUIDANCE YOU HAVE GIVEN ME, BUT POINTED OUT THAT IT WAS BASED ON ASSUMPTION THAT U.S. COMPONENTS WOULD BE INVOLVED. I STRESSED THAT TRANSFER OF SUCH ITEMS REQUIRED ACTION IN ACCORDANCE WITH OUR LAWS. IF THERE WERE NO RPT NO U.S. ELEMENTS, OUR LEGAL AND OFFICIAL POSITION WAS QUITE DIFFERENT. IT WOULD NO LONGER BE A QUESTION OF OBTAINING OUR FORMAL CONSENT, BUT RATHER OUR ADVICE AND OPINION.

6. I SAID THAT OUR VIEW, AS I UNDERSTOOD IT, WAS THAT WE WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION TO AN IRAN-ISRAEL CO-PRODUCTION PROJECT WHICH BENEFITED BOTH COUNTRIES AND DID NOT DISTURB THE REGIONAL ARMS BALANCE. I WOULD HAVE TO SEEK YOUR VIEW, HOWEVER, ON THE PARTICULAR MISSILES UNDER DISCUSSION.

7. I ALSO SUGGESTED TOUFANIAN RELAY TWO OTHER QUESTIONS TO THE SHAH. I RECALLED THAT THE SHAH HAD SAID HE WOULD ENTER THIS VENTURE ONLY IF ISRAEL WAS "FLEXIBLE" ABOUT A MID-EAST SETTLEMENT. DID THE SHAH REGARD CURRENT ISRAELI POLICY AS FLEXIBLE?

8. SECOND QUESTION WAS WHETHER IRANIANS HAD ANY IMPRESSION ISRAELIS SEEKING TO TIE THEM UP IN ARRANGEMENTS WHICH WOULD PROTECT THEIR PETROLEUM SOURCES WHILE THEY ENGAGED IN PERIOD OF CONFRONTATION WITH U.S. (ZUSSMAN TELEPHONED WHILE I WAS WITH TOUFANIAN SEEKING TO BRING AGREEMENT TO HIS HOUSE FOR SIGNATURE, SECRET

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INDICATING VERY EAGER ATTITUDE).

9. TOUFANIAN SAID THESE WERE PRECISELY QUESTIONS WHICH WERE TROUBLING SHAH AND HE DID NOT WISH GET OUT OF LINE WITH OUR ACTIONS AND POLICY. HE ASKED IF I COULD HAVE YOUR REACTION SOONEST, SINCE HE HAD TO GIVE A REPLY TO ISRAELI NO LATER THAN AUGUST 21. SHAH IS LEAVING FOR POLAND AUGUST 22. HE ASKED THAT I STAND BY FOR POSSIBLE AUDIENCE WITH SHAH AUGUST 21.

10. ACTION REQUESTED: IN LIGHT NEW FACTS REPORTED THIS MESSAGE, PLEASE PROVIDE ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS RAISED TO BE IN TEHRAN IF POSSIBLE BY OPENING OF BUSINESS AUGUST 20.  
SULLIVAN

SECRET

NNN



## Message Attributes

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**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
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**Status:** NATIVE  
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**TAGS:** MASS, PGOV, IS, IR, US  
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